

*Dr Ahmad Nabi Khan**

A Hitherto un-Noticed Tomb of Multan Style of Architecture at Dipalpur (Punjab)

Dipalpur or Deobalpur or Deopalpur of medieval historians is one of the most ancient and important historic cities of Pakistan. Today, it is situated on the old bank of the river Beas, in 30° 41' N. and 73° 32' E. in the Sahiwal district of the Punjab and is the headquarter of a tehsil of the same name established in 1870.¹ Its origin goes deep into antiquity and is attributed to the legendary Dipa, one of Raja Saliwahan's sons after whose name it was called Dipalpur.² The city however rose into prominence with the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty whose founder, Ghazi Malik or Ghiyas al-Din Tughluq was, prior to his elevation to the throne of Delhi, appointed its governor by 'Ala' al-Din Khalji.³ The activities and administrative reforms of the new governor gave a new impetus to the so far little known and insignificant *iqta'*, making it the '*iqta'-i, buzurg*', as recorded by the contemporary historians.⁴ It became the principal centre of socio-political activities of area and a number of edifices, both religious and secular, were built here during this and subsequent periods. The town was regarded second only to Multan possessing 84 towers, 84 mosques and 84 wells.⁵ The great Jame' Mosque built by Firuz Shah Tughluq, the impressive fortification with high bastions and gateways of the Lodi period, and several

* Superintendent of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Old Fort, Lahore.

1. Panjab District Gazetteers, vol. xviii-A, Montgomery District, part A (Lahore 1933) p. 69.
2. See, for details, present writer's article, 'Debalpur Through the Ages, in Jour. Res. Soc. of Pakistan, vol. vii no. 1 (Jan. 1970) p. 62 sqq
3. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, (GOS) p. 48. For a curious story about his succession to the throne, related by 'Afi, see his *Ta'rikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.) p. 36 sqq.
4. Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq* (London 1938) p. 28 fn. 5.
5. District Gazetteer p. 70.

at Merv, when he was a child of six.¹ On 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 514 another of his teachers, namely Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Amīrawaih al-ḫāliḥūnī died. He was with him, and he says: ² كتب الى الاجازة بجميع مسموعاته. As regards Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain al-Ḥafṣawī al-Marwazī (who died in 515, when Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī was 9 years old), he gave lecturers at the Masjid al-Qaffāl in the Fullers Street (= Sikkat al-Qaṣṣārīn) at Merv. al-Sam'ānī used to sit in his Class.³

In 520, when Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī was a lad of 14, a teacher called Abu 'l-Qāsim Ismā'il ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār al-Ṣaidalānī who had already granted an "ijāza" to the author in the year 509 (at the age of 3) died.⁴

Abū Sa'd has recorded that the year 527 (December 1132) witnessed the severest weather while he was journeying to Bukhārā to meet Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Sa'id of Bukhara (d.536) and to obtain from him an "ijāza" which he subsequently gave him.⁵ We do not get further details.

We find a few indications in this MS to the effect that this work was undertaken by Abū Sa'd in a much later part of his life, and this *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* was therefore going to possess the best qualities of his authorship. He had by then gained a lot of experience and had gathered a large treasure of information. For instance under Amīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Muwaffaq,⁶ Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī says in the MS : مات في التاسع عشر من شوال سنة واربعين وخمسةائة leaving a small gap between سنة واربعين and سنة. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, probably quoting from al-Sam'ānī's *Taḥbīr*, does not give any date at all.¹ The *Ansāb* lacks the article on "Dīwaqānī". Again the complete ancestral line of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī is to be found given in the MS (folio 17 b) under biographical sketch of his uncle Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Manṣūr (d. 1 Jumādā I 531).² It reads :³

ابو محمد الحسن بن منصور بن محمد بن عبد الجبار بن احمد بن محمد بن جعفر بن احمد بن عبد الجبار بن الفضل بن الربيع بن مسلم بن عبد الله بن عبد الحميد التميمي . . .

While the one given in the *Ansāb*⁴ is evidently defective :

ابو منصور محمد بن عبد الجبار بن احمد بن محمد بن جعفر بن عبد الجبار بن الفضل بن الربيع بن مسلم بن عبد الله السمعاني التميمي . . .

1. *Ansāb*, 25 b - 26 a.

2. Folio 1 b, lines 5-10.

3. *Ansāb*, 171 b - 172 a.

4. Folio 1 b, lines 23-24.

5. Folio 100 b, lines 12-16

6. Folio 41 b line 20.

ibn al-Ḥusain ibn Ḥamza ibn al-Qāsim ibn Ja'far ibn 'Aqīl ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who died' on 7 Muḥarram 507, when Abū Sa'd was hardly 5 months old) issued an "ijāza" to Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī.⁴

The last date occurring in the MS seems to be that of the death of Abū 'Umāra Ḥamza ibn Abī Ṣādiq Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī al-Qaṣṣār (d. 15 Jumādā II 507).¹ In a biographical note on Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'id ibn Mas'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Mas'ūdī, the author gives the dates :²

ولادته يوم الاربعاء فى الثانى عشرين من شهر ربيع الاول من سنة ثلاث وثمانين
واربعائة بمرو. وقيل توفى سنة ثمان وستين و خمسمائة (= 568)

This is inherently improbable, for al-Sam'ānī died on 1 Rabi' I 562.³ In the margin, however, there is an entry made in dim ink possibly in the same hand, explaining :

هذا ليس من قول السمعاني لأنه توفى قبل هذا

Therefore the MS cannot be an autograph.

Another discrepancy in the great *Mu'jam al-buldān* comes to light when we study the biography of Abu 'Abd Allāh Raḥmat Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Muwaḥḥaq. Yāqūt mentions him under "Dīwānaja"⁴ that according to Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī this scholar died at Dīwāqān in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 505. But the MS reads :⁵ سمعت منه 505. Dhu 'l-Qa'da 505. The year 505 is infeasible, for Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī was born on 21 Sha'bān 506.⁶

Of the earliest reminiscences recorded by Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī in his *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* (MS) is that of Abū 'Uthmān Ismā'il ibn Sahl ibn Abī Sahl ibn Muḥammad al-Muqri' of Nīshāpūr (d. 5 Rabi' I 519),⁷ who granted him the "ijāza" in 509. This was only when Abū Sa'd was only three years old and was learning the *Qur'ān* under this teacher. 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain ibn Shīrawaih al-Junābidhī of Nīshāpūr⁸ is another teacher under whom he studied when he was only three years and a half, of course in the year 509. Then we find the author observing the funeral ceremony of Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusain al-Arsānīdī (d. Rabi' I 512)

a. Folio 3 b, lines 3-9.

1. Folio 22 b. lines 19-21.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibn Khallikān. s. v.

4. *Mu'jam al-buldān*, s. v.

5. Folio 25 a, lines 9-12.

6. Ibn Khallikān, s. v.

7. Folio 3 b. lines 10-12.

8. Folio 49 b, lines 19-20

١ اِدْوَالْقَاسِمِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ بْنِ مُوسَى الدُّنْدَانَقَانِي الصُّوفِي (٥٥٣-

The name of his uncle Aḥmad al-Sam'ānī Abu'l-Qāsim (b. 487-d. 534)² could still be added. He had taken the young scholar to Nīshāpūr.

But now we have to examine if the MS is the *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* or the *Taḥbīr*.

Though some scholars³ think that the *Taḥbīr* and the *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh* are one and the same work of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, but the description given by various scholars like Ibn Khallikān,⁴ al-Dhahabī⁵ and Ḥajjī Khalīfa⁶ lead us to the conclusion that the *Taḥbīr* was several times larger than the *Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*, to the ratio of 40 : 300. Hence the MS under examination cannot be the *magnus opus* (the *Taḥbīr*) of al-Sam'ānī.

To further bear it out, we may like to compare the excerpts of the *Taḥbīr* given in the *Mu'jam al-buldān* of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī⁷ regarding Abū Sa'd Khālīd ibn al-Rabī' ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi'l-Faḍl ibn Abi'l-'Āṣim al-Ṭūrānī, where two of his beautiful poetical lines are quoted as specimen. In the *Mu'jam* (MS), al-Sam'ānī briefly mentions him only as a poet of spontaneity.⁸ Yāqūt quotes from the *Taḥbīr* and gives two of his lines.

Again, regarding Abū Bakr Khalaf ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Aḥmad al-Marw al-Rūdhī, Yāqūt⁹ says on the authority of the *Taḥbīr* that he died in Rajab 506. In the MS (*Mu'jam al-shuyūkh*)¹⁰ the date of death of Abū Bakr Khalaf ibn Aḥmad is not given. He however mentions that the "ijāza" was issued in Rajab 506. The strangest aspect of this piece of information is that Abū Bakr Khalaf ibn Aḥmad al-Marw al-Rūdhī had issued the "ijāza" in favour of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī a month before his birth. This "ijāza" was obtained on a request made by Abū Bakr al-Sam'ānī, for his son to be born in a month or so. We also learn that a teacher (Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ismā'il

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1. On the authority of the *Taḥbīr* of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, see *Mu'jam al-buldān*, art. Dandānaqān.
 2. *Ansāb*, 308 b, lines 9 ff.
 3. Al-Ṭāshkuprī-zāda : *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, i. 211.
 4. *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, ii. 378.
 5. *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz*, iv. 110
 6. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, per index.
 7. Article Ṭūrān.
 8. Folio 23 b (A), lines 4-9.
 9. Art. Maw al-Rūdh.
 10. Folio 23 a (B), line 16.

7000¹— the latter said to be a record number — that lifetime was largely spent in travelling from place to place in order to hear traditions and collect other information”.²

The name of al-Sam‘ānī’s teachers given in the MS are not arranged strictly in alphabetical order. The present MS opens with IBRĀHĪM. After two of them comes the name ISMĀ‘ĪL :

اسماعيل بن عيدالرزاق . . .	(Folio 4 a)
اسماعيل بن محمد بن أحمد . . .	(Folio 5 a)
اسماعيل بن نصر بن بكر	(Folio 5 a)
اسماعيل بن محمد بن محمد	(Folio 5 b)
اسماعيل بن محمد بن ابراهيم . . .	(Folio 5 b)
اسحاق . . .	(Folio 6 b)
أسعد . . .	(Folio 6 b)

In the Section of “alif”, notices of those of the scholars bearing the name “Aḥmad” are wanting. We know at least ten of al-Sam‘ānī’s teachers each called “Aḥmad” :

- 3 أبو بكر أحمد بن الحسين الأرجاني القاضي بتستر (٥٤٠-) كتب الى الاجازة بجميع سموعاته.
- 4 شيخنا ابوبكر أحمد بن ظفر بن أحمد الغازي الظفري (٥٣٣-)
- 5 ابو سعيد أحمد بن علي بن أحمد الخلائى السساوكاني ، سمعت منه (ولد ٤٧١-)
- 6 ابوالفضل أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد الفراقى الخوجاني ، كتبت عنه بداره بنوجان (٥٥٥-).
- 7 ابو سعد أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن خالد الشرمقاني كتبت عنه بنيسا بور (٥٣٨-)
- 8 ابوبكر أحمد بن محمد بن بشار الخرجردى ، سمعت منه بنيسا بور (٥٤٣-)
- 9 ابو سعد أحمد بن محمد بن علي الزوزنى ، كتبت عنه ببغداد (ولد ٤٤٩)
- 10 ابو نصر أحمد بن محمد بن عبد الملك الاسدى الظفري (٥٣٢-) ، دخلت عليه بالظفرية.
- 11 ابو السعادت أحمد بن محمد بن غالب العطاردى من اهل الكرخ ، كتبت عنه.

1. Ibn al-Najjār (Ms) Cambridge, Folio 278 b.

2. *Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Intro., p. 2,

3. *Ibid.*, 24 a.

4. *Ibid.*, 377 a.

5. *Ibid.*, 287 b.

6. *Ibid.*, 211 a, 377 a.

7. *Ibid.*, 332 a.

8. *Ibid.*, 193 a.

9. *Ibid.*, 281 a

10. *Ibid.*, 377 a.

11. *Ibid.*, 393b.

of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī. It is also evident that it is a Mu'jam of scholars (i.e., a Dictionary of names alphabetically arranged). The biographical notices are very brief enumerating the lineage of a particular scholar generally to three or five generations, giving the main occupation or scope of his literary activities, then mentioning only one or two of his prominent teachers, and finally his dates — birth and death, adding the author's personal note كتبت الى الاجازة (بجمع مسموعاته) or simply كتبت عنه. We may quote an example here :¹

ابو اسحاق ابراهيم بن محمد بن علي الخطيب الطاسيندى الهمداني من أهل همدان
كان شجاعاً صالحاً خيراً ، سمع أبا القاسم نصر بن محمد بن علي بن زبرك المقرئ ،
وكانت ولادته في سنة خمس و سبعين وأربعمائة ، ووفاته يوم الاثنين السابع من رجب
سنة ست وخمسين وخمسمائة .

The next issue for discussion is whether all the scholars described in this MS are none more than the teachers of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī. We have a strong feeling that the MS is a Mu'jam of al-Sam'ānī's teachers (= Shuyūkh), for after having finished with the biographical sketches of scholars of his time, Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī appends a Chapter captioned :²

النسوة اللواتي كتبت عنهن ، رتبت اسماؤهن على حروف المعجم - حرف
الالف - من اسمها آمنة :

This affords us a cogent hint that this work is primarily concerned with the biographical notes on such of the scholars—men & women—from whom al-Sam'ānī had directly drawn. This particular Chapter deals with the lady-teachers of al-Sam'ānī. Herein he mentions his mother Fāṭima.³ However the name of his sister Amat Allāh Al-Ḥurra (b. 491)⁴ appears to have not been included. She was كثيرة الدرس لكن probably had not much for Abū Sa'd to benefit from. In view of this piece of internal evidence, it cannot now be denied that that the MS is a Mu'jam of Abū Sa'd's teachers.

The total number of al-Sam'ānī's teachers described in this Mu'jam is 872.⁵ We learn that "since the number of persons under whom he studied in his lifetime was variously reckoned at 4000⁶—

1. Folio 1 b.

3. Folio 145 a, lines 15-19.

5. Folio 1 b.

2. Folio 140 b, lines 5-6.

4. *Ansāb*. 308 b, lines 16-18.

6. Ibn Khallikān, ii. 378.

عشرين شهراً.

1. يتفق على والدى رحمه الله and

ولما ورد مرو نزل رباط السلطان وحملت اليه مع اخى عبدالوهاب² And. رحمه الله وكان لى اذ ذاك تسع سنين فتواضع لنا واكرمنا غاية الاكرام ، وسمعنا منه بقراءة عمى ابى القاسم السمعاني رحمه الله³ نسخة دينار بن عبدالله عن أنس بن مالك رضى الله عنه .

Here under the biographical note on Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Lāmishī (d. 522)⁴ the author mentions an emissary of the Khāqān Muḥammad Ārsalān Khān ibn Sulaimān ibn Dāwūd (fl. 495-524 . . 526-536)⁵ to the Court of the Caliph al-Mustarshid bi'llāh (fl. 52 - 529), he alighted at the Royal Guest House in Merv. Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī and his elder brother Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Wahhāb (whom he speaks of as dead now) were carried to his audience. He did great honour to the young nephews of his teacher Abu'l-Qāsim al-Sam'ānī. This was in the year 515 ; and in return a few months later, Abū Sa'id Yaḥyā ibn 'Alī was sent on a royal errand to the Court of the Khāqān.⁶ A study of this exchange of diplomatic messages and their results yields an independent research paper to be contributed at a subsequent date.

Finally, in very clear terms the author mentions his father and his mother :⁷

أم البنين فاطمة بنت الحسن بن أحمد بن ابى نصر الزندخانى السرخسى والدتى رحمها الله من اهل سرخس من بيت الرئاسة والتقدم . والدها كان رئيس مرو وهي كانت راغبة فى الخير كثيرة المعرفة والاحسان الى الناس . وكانت ولادتها بالزندخان سنة نيف وثمانين وأربعمائة ، وماتت بسرخس سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين وخمسمائة . سمعت والدتى رحمها الله تقول سمعت والدى أبا بكر محمد السمعاني يقول . . .

He also mentions his maternal uncle :⁸

خالى أبو عبد الله⁹ محمد بن الحسن بن أحمد بن أبى نصر الزندخانى .

It is therefore decidedly proved that the MS is one of the works

1. Folio 87 b. line 16.

2. Folio 20 b, lines 7-9.

3. B. 487 - d. 534.

4. D. 522 (Yāqūt, see art. لامش)

5. Zambaur, *Mu'jam al-usrāt* . . . , p. 313.

6. *Ansāb*. 173 a.

7. Folio 145 a, lines 15-19.

8. Folio 87 b, line 13 : *Ansāb*, 280 a.

9. In the *Ansāb* (op. cit.) his patronym is Abū Bakr (b. 490 circa - d. Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 549).

ink is black with a brownish tinge of meg-nut. The script is evidently a fast cursive Naskh of sixth century (Hijra).

The outer boards are flapped off, probably due to rough handling one some occasion, but later the binding has crudely been mended with a piece of silk cloth.

At places the MS is worm-eaten and has several small round perforations here and there. The first folio and the last three folios are water-stained, making a part of the text completely illegible.

Paper of the MS has fabricational defects, e.g. the top left corner of Folio 52 is torn off. The scribe has therefore not cared to mend it with pasting a slip onto it. Similar fabricational defects are to be found on Folio 90 and 94. A small slip has however been pasted on Folio 78 to mend the space in the middle of the lowest edge.

The MS bears a few seal impressions. The old seal reads : المكتبة العمومية in Ṭughrā, and is impressed on Folios 62 a and 145 b. A larger seal within two concentric circles which reads : المكتبة الظاهرية in modern type is to be found printed on Folio 5 b.

The writer of these lines possesses a photographed copy of this MS.

A close examination of the MS confirms that it is a composition of Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (b. 21 Sha'bān 506, d. Rabī' I 562), the author of the celebrated Dictionary of Ansab (sing. *nisba* : ascription, *Nomina relativa*, or relative adjectives—and the adjectival forms indicating tribal relation, so popular among the Arabs, or signifying connection with places, trades, occupations, sects, or some other form of location).¹ The author is Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī, for he frequently mentions his grandfather : جدى الامام ابوالمظفر السمعاني.² He mentions his father:³ حملنى والدى رحمه الله الى نيسابور ، وكان يحضر الشيخ عنده فى مدرسة أبى نصر بن أبى الخير ويحضرنى واخى مجلسه عنده ، وسمعنا منه الكثير وكنت ابن ثلاث سنين ونصف . واكثر التسميعات مثبتة بخط والدى رحمه الله ، كان يكتب فى الساع عنده اسم نفسه ثم يقول وحضر ابنه ابو المظفر عبد الوهاب يعنى اخى واحضر أخوه ابو سعد عبدالكريم . وكان بينى و بين أخى

1. Cf. W. Wright : *Grammar of Arabic Language*, Cambridge 1967, i. 149-165.

2. Folios 2 a, line 3 ; 18 b, line 10 ; 54 a bis.

3. Folio 49 b, lines 18-22.

Dr M. N. Ehsan Elahie*

A MS Copy of al-Sam'ani's *Tahbir*

AT the other end of the Sūq Musaqqaḥ (the roofed market) of Damascus in close vicinity of the great Umayyad Mosque, there stands a 700 year old structure called al-Zāhiriyya. This is a library, and a public library—and no more a Madrasa now. Precisely it is called the Maktabat al-Zāhiriyya al-'Umūmiyya. The Research Academy (المجمع العلمي) of Damascus is also housed in one of its flanks.

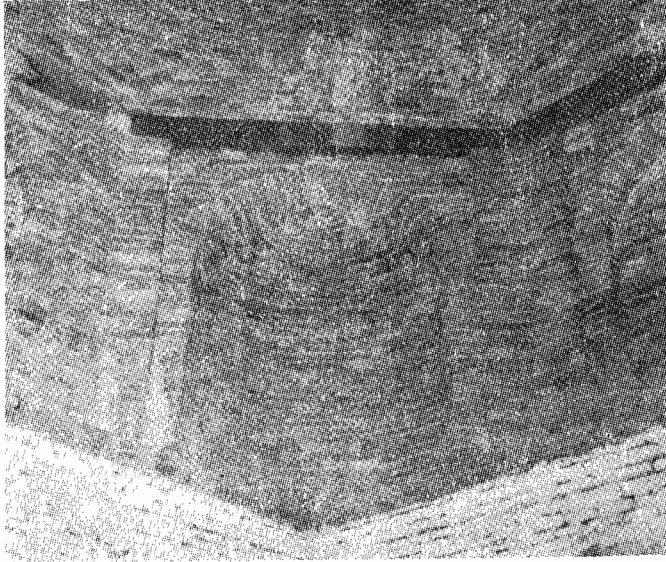
Among the several rare manuscripts preserved in this grand library perhaps the most attractive, though relatively less attended to, is the one catalogued under "History - Biographies" as the well-known *al-Taḥbīr* of Abū Sa'd al-Sam'ānī.¹

This MS, as it exists today, contains 158 folios on thick Baghdadi paper, now slightly brown with age. It is defective at both ends. Without mentioning the title of the work² and the name of its author and even without proper doxology or the usual form of introduction the MS abruptly opens with : والعشرين من شهر رمضان سنة أربع وأربعين وخمسمائة ودفن بمقبرة الغرباء خلف الجامع. Likewise the MS lacks the colophon. While enumerating the lady scholars,³ the author reaches ⁴حرف الكاف - من اسمها كريمة. Here the text closes. Obviously the MS should not have lost more than four or five of the folios from the beginning, and a similar number of folios at the end.

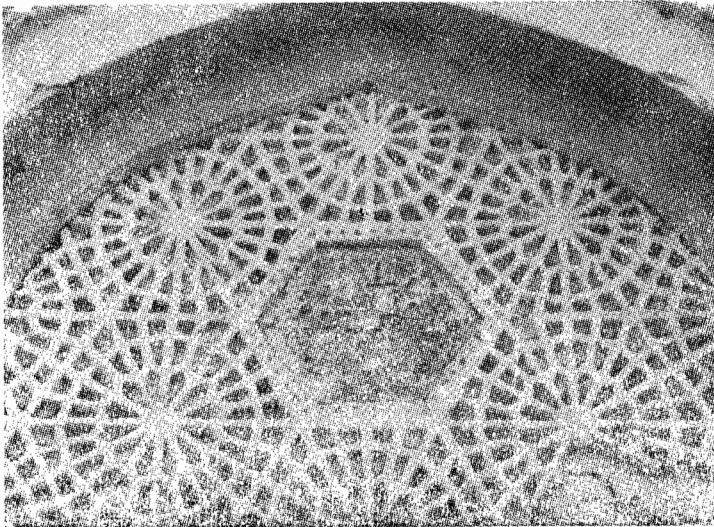
The size of the page is 11¼" × 8¼" with 23 lines to a page.⁵ The

* Retired Associate Professor, Punjab University, Lahore (Editor).

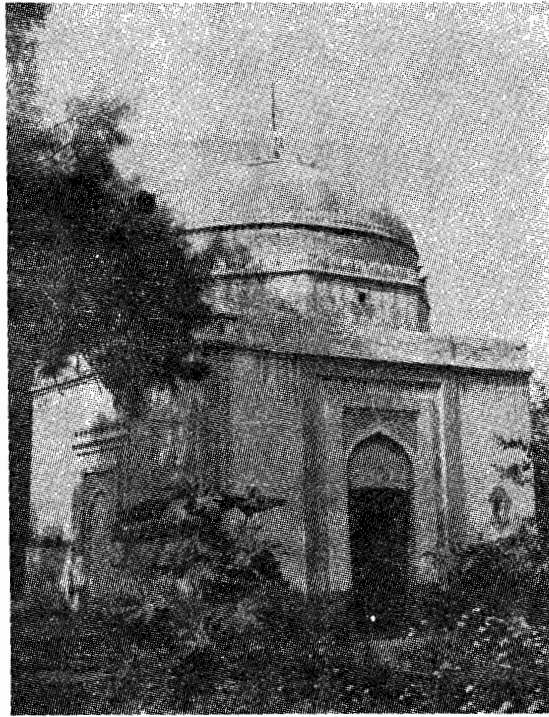
1. Yusūf al-'Ishsh : فهرس المخطوطات بدار الكتب الظاهرية : Damascus 1947, p. 181.
2. On the outer cover, the title "*al-Taḥbīr li'l-Sam'ānī*" appears in a recent hand.
3. From Folio 140 b.
4. Folio 148 b.
5. 24 lines to a page are to be found on folios 8 b ; 9 a ; 52 a, b ; 53 a ; 96 a. And 22 lines to a page are to be counted on folios 51 a ; 94 b.



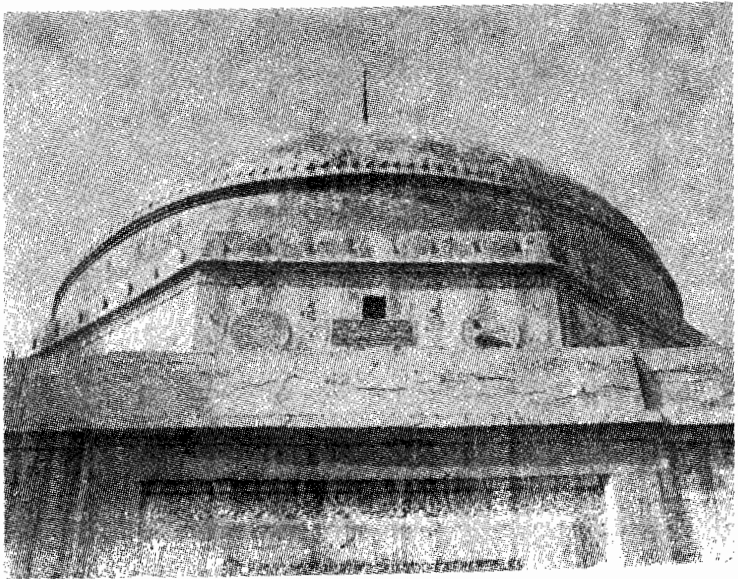
(A)—Dipalpur : An un-known tomb.



• (B)—Dipalpur :-An un-known tomb. The stucco ornamental tracery with a *tughra* in the centre.



(A)—Divalpur: An un-known tomb. General view from the south.



(B)—Divalpur: An un-known tomb. A close-up view of the above.

